

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00  
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O 311337Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8397

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 18703

FOR PRESIDENTIAL PARTY

FOR SECRETARY VANCE AND DR. BRZEZINSKI FROM AMBASSADOR GOHEEN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY)  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT: NUCLEAR POLICY

1. KRISHNAN KANT, A JANATA PARTY MP, HAS SENT TO ME  
FOR TRANSMITTAL TO THE PRESIDENT, A LONG "OPEN LETTER"  
ADDRESSED TO HIM WHICH IS STRONGLY CRITICAL OF US  
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY AS IT AFFECTS INDIA.  
ACCORDING TO KANT, THE LETTER WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE  
WIDELY CIRCULATED HINDUSTAN TIMES TOMORROW MORNING,  
THE DAY THE PRESIDENT ARRIVES HERE.

2. I WANTED YOU TO HAVE A SUMMARY OF THE KANT LETTER  
BEFORE YOU AND THE PRESIDENT REACHED DELHI. IN READING  
IT I THINK YOU WILL BE ABLE TO GET AN EVEN CLEARER  
UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS PRIME MINISTER DESAI  
WILL HAVE IN MIND AS HE SITS DOWN TO TALK WITH US  
ABOUT NUCLEAR ISSUES. KANT IS NOT HIMSELF A  
PARTICULARLY INFLUENTIAL MP BUT WE BELIEVE HIS POINT OF  
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VIEW ON NUCLEAR MATTERS IS WIDELY SHARED AMONG MEMBERS  
BOTH OF HIS OWN RULING PARTY AND THE OPPOSITION. HE HAS  
EXPRESSED THIS MORE ARTICULATELY AND WITH GREATER  
SHRILLNESS AT POINTS THAN MANY OTHERS WOULD, BUT I SUSPECT IT  
WILL STRIKE MANY SYMPATHETIC CHORDS WHEN IT APPEARS  
TOMORROW. I SHOULD NOTE THAT HIS APPROACH SPRINGS FROM  
NO RPT NO ANTI-AMERICAN BIAS. KANT IS, IN FACT, ONE OF THE

STRONGEST HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES IN INDIAN POLITICS, AND HAS EXPRESSED TO EMBASSY OFFICERS HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES IN THAT AREA.

3. THERE FOLLOWS A SUMMARY OF LETTER:

KANT SAYS HE WISHES TO CLEAR UP A "CERTAIN MISUNDERSTANDING" THAT WILL STRAIN BILATERAL RELATIONS: "WHETHER THE US WILL CONTINUE TO HONOR HER COMMITMENT TO SUPPLY ENRICHED URANIUM FUEL TO TARAPUR ATOMIC POWER PLANT." INDIA, HE WRITES, HAS "COMPLETELY ABIDED BY HER COMMITMENT" TO SUBMIT TARAPUR TO INSPECTION. IN NOW SEEKING TO IMPOSE "UNILATERALLY" FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS, THE US IS RENEGING ON ITS AGREEMENT. INDIA WOULD NOT HAVE AGREED TO TARAPUR, IF FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS HAD BEEN REQUIRED. THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION HAS HONORED ALL INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS AND EXPECTS OTHER NATIONS TO "ADHERE SCRUPULOUSLY TO THEIR MORAL COMMITMENTS..." EVEN IF THE US WERE TO SUCCEED IN IMPOSING FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS ON INDIA, IT WOULD BE REGARDED AS AN "UNEQUAL TREATY" NOT BINDING ON FUTURE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIONS.

KANT WRITES THAT IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS "TO ANY UNBIASED OBSERVER" THAT INDIA IS NOT PREPARING TO BECOME A NUCLEAR WEAPON POWER. HE RHETORICALLY ASKS IF SAFEGUARDS DO NOT CONSTITUTE "ANOTHER WAY" OF IMPOSING "TECHNOLOGICAL

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HEGEMONY OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS OF THE WORLD." HE QUESTIONS ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE SAFEGUARDS ON NATIONS WHERE THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BEING PRODUCED ARE MINIMAL WHILE TURNING A "BLIND EYE" TO NATIONS WHERE THE RISKS ARE VERY HIGH. KANT SAYS U.S. CREDIBILITY WOULD BE GREATER IF IT HAD ACCEPTED FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS ON ALL ITS NUCLEAR FACILITIES INCLUDING WEAPONS AND IF IT WERE NOT DEVELOPING THE CRUISE MISSILE AND NEUTRON BOMB.

KANT STATES THAT THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT AND THE INDIAN PEOPLE WILL NOT PERMIT THE ADMINISTRATION TO SIGN FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS IN THEIR PRESENT FORM. THE PARLIAMENTARY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS "WITH NEAR UNANIMITY" RECENTLY TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THE PARLIAMENT WILL SUPPORT THE SHUT-DOWN OF TARAPUR RATHER THAN ACCEPT FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. THE CONSEQUENCES HE ASKS THE PRESIDENT TO PONDER ARE THAT THE US WILL BE CONSIDERED UNDEPENDABLE AND THAT INDIA WILL HAVE TO DEPEND ON OTHER NATIONS FOR ITS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY. HE ALSO ASKS IF THOSE WHO ACCELERATE THE ARMS RACE, INTRODUCE NEW CATEGORIES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND HOLD ENTIRE HUMANITY TO RANSOM, CAN COMMAND ANY CREDIBILITY IN ADVOCATING

HUMAN RIGHTS OR FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS FOR OTHERS.

INDIA, HE SAYS, WILL ACCEPT FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS IF  
THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS POWERS STOP PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS  
AND APPLY THE SAFEGUARDS TO ALL WEAPONS FACILITIES.  
BUT INDIA WILL RESIST "DISARMING THE UNARMED" WHILE  
THE ARMS RACE ESCALATES BEHIND A "SMOKESCREEN OF SO-CALLED"  
ARMS CONTROL MEASURES WHICH IN REALITY ARE MEANT TO IMPOSE  
"TECHNOLOGICAL HEGEMONY" BY THE GREAT POWERS OVER THE  
MAJORITY OF MANKIND. KANT MAKES CLEAR HE IS ADDRESSING THIS  
TO THE SOVIETS AS WELL.

IF INDIA GIVES UP ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS AND THE "DOUBLE THINK" ON NON-PROLIFERATION  
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AND FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS, "THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE  
MAD MOMENTUM OF NUCLEAR ARMS RACE WILL BE LOST."

KANT CONCLUDES HIS LETTER: "MR. PRESIDENT, INDIA  
NEEDS YOUR MORAL SUPPORT TO HELP TO FREE THE WORLD FROM THE  
MADNESS OF YOUR NUCLEAR WAR DOCTRINES. AS A PERSON  
DEDICATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES, MAY WE  
COUNT ON YOU TO UNDERSTAND THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING  
OUR STRUGGLE..."  
GOHEEN

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## Message Attributes

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